

53

Ibid., 87. There were eighty-five missions to Champa between 1369 and 1509, with fifty-eight of those between 1369 and 1430, more tribute missions to China than any other Southeast Asian country.

54

Ibid., 63. He says the first three Ming emperors "suppressed private trade and replaced it by a sustained and vigorous series of diplomatic initiatives, designed to ensure that commercial exchange took place only in the form of frequent tribute missions from Southeast Asia to the Imperial Court."

55

Po Dharma, *Le Panduranga, 1802–1835, ses rapports avec le Vietnam* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1987), 149.

56

As the southern coast fell increasingly under the sway of the Vietnamese, Cham seamen continued to trade in the diaspora of Malay-speaking Muslims and to fight as mercenaries elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 74: "After the fall of Melaka in 1511, the term 'Malay' expanded to indicate a real diaspora of Malay-speaking Muslims (undoubtedly of diverse ethnic origins) typically engaged in maritime trade and inhabiting numerous commercial centres of Southeast Asia."

57

The Le had previously reigned from 1428 to 1528.

58

Some scholars emphasize the importance of agriculture in the philosophy of northern rulers to the detriment of international trade. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680: Expansion and Crisis*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 63 and 204; "Le Thanh Tong (1460–97), greatest of the Le kings, used the slogan, 'Concentrate all our forces on agriculture, expand our potential'; cited in Nguyen Khac Vien, *Viet Nam: une longue histoire* (Ha Noi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1987); Nguyen Dinh Dau, "The Birth and the Historic Evolution of Hoi An," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An*, 159.

59

Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coast," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (February 2006): 83–102; John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast: Trade, State, and Culture in Early Dai Viet," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (February 2006): 103–22; Charles Wheeler, "Re-thinking the Sea in Vietnamese History: Littoral Society in the integration of Thuan-Quang, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (February 2006): 123–53.

60

Nguyen Dinh Dau, "The Birth and the Historic Evolution of Hoi An," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An*, 160.

61

For an overview of this process, see Wheeler, "Re-thinking the Sea in Vietnamese History," 123–53, quote, 142.

62

Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 2, 215. This is in the eighteenth century.

63

A similar situation arose in the northern port city of Pho Hien, though we know far less about that port. Westerners, Japanese, and Chinese wrote extensively about Hoi An. The primary sources for Pho Hien are the records of the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company. See Nguyen Quang Ngoc, "Some Information about the Dutch East India Company in Pho Hien," 129–37, and Anthony Farrington, "English East India Company References to Pho Hien and the north of Viet Nam," 143–57, in *Pho Hien, the Centre of International Commerce in the XVII – XVIIIth Centuries* (Ha Noi: Gioi Publishers, 1994); page numbers from the Vietnamese version. The English East India Company was in north Viet Nam from 1672 to November 1697.

64

As quoted in Nguyen Dinh Dau, "The Birth and the Historic Evolution of Hoi An," 160, from Cristifor Borri, "Relation de la nouvelle mission des pères de la compagnie de Jésus au Royaume de la Cochinchine" (Rome: 1631); *Bulletin des amis du vieux Hue* 3–4 (1931): 333–34.

65

As quoted in Do Bang, "The Relations and Pattern of Trade between Hoi An and the Inland," in *Ancient Town of Hoi An*, 209, from *Bulletin des amis du vieux Hue*, 3–4 (1931): 332.

66

Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 2 and 312.

67

Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, 161.

68

Traders from the Ryukyu Islands were heavily involved in this trade from 1372. See Bui Min Tri and Kerry Nguyen-Long, *Gom Hoa Lam Viet Nam: Vietnamese Blue-and-White Ceramics* (Ha Noi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 2001), 171–72.

69

Charles Wheeler, "A Maritime Logic to Vietnamese History? Littoral Society in Hoi An's Trading World, c. 1550–1830," 4, online at <http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/wheeler.html>.

70

Do Bang, "The Relations and Pattern of trade between Hoi An and the Inland," from Borri, *Bulletin des amis du vieux Hue* (1931): 332–34.

71

Wheeler, "A Maritime Logic to Vietnamese History?" 9.

72

Wheeler, *Cross-Cultural Trade and trans-Regional Networks in the Port of Hoi An*, 160 and 164.

73

Ibid., 166 and 175.

74

Ibid., 188.